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cordance with the principle of friendly composition. There have been numerous other cases.

The central principle of friendly composition may be compromise, an ancient and honorable method of settling international disputes. The fact that arbitration is endangered by the fear that it may become mere compromise is a criticism not of compromise, but of the loose construction we place upon the ends and purposes of arbitration. The suggestion here offered is that arbitration might well be left to the second class of settlements—that is, to the field of strict judicial procedure. This would leave the way definitely open for the operation of friendly composition in case of controversies susceptible of settlement upon the high ground of conscience and friendly compromise.

Switzerland, ancient scene of many arbitrations, especially after the year 1291 to the establishment of a permanent judicial tribunal in 1848, presents many an illustration of a third party functioning both as friendly compositor and arbiter. Indeed, it was long the principle and practice of arbiters to begin their proceedings as friendly compositors. Only after the method of friendly composition had failed were the items in dispute considered in respect of the principles of law.

While this particular form of adjusting before deciding has largely ceased as the acknowledged practice of modern arbitrations, the importance of that first step in the older proceeding still influences, it is believed, the findings of arbiters. But the possibilities latent in friendly composition as a possible solution of difficulties arising under various international controversies are largely ignored. International practice is as if no such method were possible. Where the principle is recognized it is so merged with the conception of the duties of the arbiter as to lead to confusion. It is thus that arbitration as a means of settling international disputes is feared by governments. The lack of definiteness as to the function of the arbiters has confused the issue. It is undoubtedly true that arbitration at the present time may mean compromise, or it may mean purely a judicial decision. In consequence governments perfectly willing to submit controversies of a legal nature to a judicial body balk at the suggestion of arbitration.

Since this serious obstacle to the effective settlement of international disputes is due to a confusion of definition, I venture to ask if it would not make for a distinct advantage if we were to take from the arbiter all duties not strictly of a judicial character and provide a freer opportunity for the services of the friendly composer? There certainly is a large place for such a service. The principle of give and take, of fair dealing, of ascertaining the facts and prescribing remedies on the bases of conscience and equity makes a genuine and potential appeal to high-minded disputants.

It would seem reasonable that nations may, as quite recently in the case of the United States and Chile, and as in the case of other nations from time to time, take recourse to the friendly composition of their differences, and thuswise enlarge the field of peaceful settlement. Such an accomplishment is certainly desirable.

In article 8 of the treaty of July 29, 1898, between Italy and Argentina, we find these suggestive words:

"The tribunal shall make its award according to the principles of international law, unless the *compromis* prescribes special rules to be applied and does not authorize the arbiters to pass upon the question as friendly composers."

The significance of these words is perfectly clear. The arbiters were to decide the controversies not as friendly composers unless specifically *authorized* by the *compromis*, but as judges upon the bench, in other words as real arbiters.

If the function of friendly composition could be clearly defined, or at least separated from that of arbitration, and if it were once understood that arbiters should not directly or indirectly act as friendly composers except in specific instances set forth in the *compromis*, nations would feel justified in accepting a genuine judicial decision from the arbiter and leave the field open for the honest, well-meaning, fair-minded, important friendly composer, where such would be acceptable.

In fine, there is an important field for the services of the friendly composer. If we could wisely and carefully take from the arbiter all functions of the friendly composer in any given case of difference, the objection that the arbitration might be vitiated by compromise would largely disappear. And, what is of equal importance, to limit, define and strengthen the powers of the friendly composer would advance effectively the judicial settlement of international disputes.

A Plea for the Small Town.

By Louis P. Lochner.

In view of the increasing tendency of our population to move from the country-side to the city, it is eminently fit and proper that organized pacifism should direct its efforts chiefly to making propaganda for the cause in the congested centers of population—the large cities. It is here that the largest audiences can be reached at a minimum of expenditure of energy. It is here that an international atmosphere is created in the very cosmopolitanism of the audience that greets a speaker or of the reading clientele that purchases the penny news sheet.

It is also true that the message of internationalism is perhaps most easily grasped by the college man. Scholarship in its very nature is international, and the scientist, the historian, the linguist, the technicist, the theologian—each is dependent upon international co-operation and the cumulative services of men in all countries for the realization of the greatest progress in his special field of endeavor. The average college man or woman is therefore a pacifist, or at least an internationalist, almost without knowing it, and it needs but a logical, clear-cut presentation of the peace problem to convert him or her from a passive into an active, from an unconscious to a conscious supporter of our cause.

It is not surprising, then, that we find every "big" international man who comes to our shores alternating his whirlwind peace campaign between college town and metropolis. And usually it is the City Club, the Peace Society, the University, the Chamber of Commerce, that is addressed. The distinguished foreigner—like the Baroness von Suttner, Count Apponyi, Baron d'Estour-

nelles de Constant, or Bernard Noel Langdon-Davies—is usually so fatigued by the time he reaches my native city (Madison, Wis.), after having made his swing around the south and the west of our vast country, that I make it a solemn rule to implore our local committee to refrain from entertaining the guest in any way other than furnishing him the luxury of a comfortable bed in a quiet, remote corner of the hotel or club—a bit of attention that is always gratefully remembered and commented upon in subsequent letters.

Meanwhile there is the small city—the rural community. How shall it be transfused with international ideas? The politician is usually very much concerned about the farmer's vote. An aspirant for gubernatorial honors will stop in the most insignificant "one-horse town," be it for ever so brief a time, to expound his political beliefs. Should the pacifist be less alive to the influence of rural public opinion?

There is a dearth of lecturers upon international subjects who are willing to invade the small community. May not one example suffice: It is a sad fact, but true, that when the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, which covers my native State with lecturers as no similar institution does, and which annually reaches some 125,000 hearers, cast about for men to lecture on peace and international relations, there was but one man available for the work. And it is also true that the greatest problem that confronts our infant Wisconsin Peace Society today is the dearth of speakers on international topics who will go to the small town to deliver their message.

What shall be done about it? It is of course impracticable for the renowned foreign publicist to spend his efforts in a number of small, relatively unimportant cities. In passing, however, I desire to register my conviction that even for him it would be advisable to include one or two such towns. The experience would be a pleasant relief from the "horrible monotony" (as one of these itinerant pacifists expressed it) of our large cities, and would give him a glimpse of an interesting and important phase of American life. And the community thus blessed by his presence would live on the memory of such a rare experience for years. Only he who has come close to the rural population can appreciate the tenacity with which a red-letter day, such as the occasion of a visit of this sort would be, is cherished and is made the topic of conversation for years to come.

Nor would I place the responsibility for supplying this need entirely upon our overworked State and sectional peace secretaries. The demands upon their time are far in excess of their physical ability to meet them. I believe, however, that the refusal of some city engagements and the acceptance of a few engagements in a rural community instead could not but redound to the advantage of the professional pacifist.

Let us consider this phase from a purely selfish point of view: No better intellectual discipline can come to a peace worker than to "run up against" an indifferent or even hostile audience. In a large city the chances are that his audience is of a fairly high order of intelligence. Because of the cosmopolitanism of the city, international ideas of some sort or other, even though they be badly prejudiced, have permeated, consciously or unconsciously, the mind of every one in the audience. More-

over, as the large city offers numerous attractions every day in the week, the chances are that only those interested in or sympathetic with the topic announced will attend the address.

In the rural community (I speak from three years' personal experience) conditions are often less favorable. The audience is decidedly mixed; everybody, children included, turns out because of pure curiosity, because there is nothing else going on in town. International ideas are foreign to them. What care they about a court of arbitral justice or the judicial settlement of international disputes? What is the exemption of coastwise shipping from Panama Canal tolls to them? The problem is, first, that of getting a hearing at all. Then comes the problem of being simple and elementary without appearing to be so, for if there is any one who resents being told, even impliedly, that he knows little about the subject under discussion it is the rural citizen. And from having secured a hearing and from having laid the foundations for the discourse it is still a long distance to making the audience see the vital importance of studying international relations and view the peace problem as the most commanding cause of our age. Is not this good mental discipline for a peace preacher? And oh, the rich reward that is his if he succeeds! How the eyes hang upon the speaker's lips; how he is confronted with questions after he leaves the platform; how the editor of the solitary weekly throws open his columns for an elaborate report of the address; how the little local library is besieged for copies of standard peace works!

But our international visitors and our peace secretaries can in the very nature of things not adequately meet the demand that I speak of. *More workers in the cause are needed.* Perhaps the Intercollegiate Peace Association could be utilized to advantage in supplying the need. The peace oratorical and the peace essay contests give to many a young man and woman the initial stimulus for thinking concretely along the lines of peace and war. It is a pity that this enthusiasm and energy, as well as serious study, should all be expended upon one essay or one oration, and that with the closing of the contest this "college activity" be considered a closed chapter. If I understand the spirit of the college man at all, I am right in asserting that he welcomes the opportunity to present his ideas on the public platform.

I would suggest, then, that the officers of our Intercollegiate Peace Association, in co-operation with our professors of oratory and political science, and in conjunction with our peace secretaries, scan closely the list of entrants in the oratorical and essay contests, and from these train up speakers who will use the week end or the vacation to work in the cause of international organization and justice. We have been able to raise funds for other purposes; why not a fund for the traveling expenses (more is not necessary) of these apostles to the small towns?

These observations are jotted down as I am riding on a railroad train returning from a typical small town. I learned there that the popular idol of the city is a young man who is distinguishing himself at the university as a debater and orator. A little reference to him in my address brought forth a storm of applause. I could not help but wonder how many more converts to

the cause he would have been able to make than I, and how gladly the other small cities in his county (local pride in these rural sections runs by counties as well as by towns) would furnish him an audience!

New England as a Factor in the Peace Movement.*

By James L. Tryon.

"New England" is a watchword that is being used by our business men for the purpose of bringing forward New England to its proper position of commercial leadership in our country and the world. "New England" is a watchword that we of the peace movement who live here may well adopt as our own. Much of the work of our peace societies in New England will have to be done by the State organizations, each acting independently in its own field, but there are some ways in which we can get better results by working together as a unit than by working alone. There are times when we can exchange ideas as to method, and when we can reinforce one another in places where the lines are weak. A fellowship that is conscious to ourselves and evident to the public cannot fail to help us all.

Today let us consider some of the opportunities that belong peculiarly to the territory in which we work. Let us refresh ourselves with inspiration drawn from the history of the place that is the scene of our labors in the cause of peace.

New England has the oldest traditions of the peace movement of America. Nearly all of its founders lived or were born here. Dodge, Worcester, Channing, Ladd, Burritt, and Sumner were all New England men. From New England went forth Albert K. Smiley, who founded the Arbitration Conferences at Lake Mohonk, New York. To New England belonged the originator of the World Peace Foundation, Edwin Ginn. These and many other heroes of the cause, who are less known but are still to be numbered among our own immortals, are like a cloud of witnesses that surround us and by their deeds and words continue to urge us on.

In New England the American Peace Society for nearly a century made its home. Here worked George C. Beckwith, and for nineteen years, until the national office was moved to Washington, the present general secretary, Benjamin F. Trueblood. Here was an atmosphere of culture, of law, of love for mankind, which is necessary to a movement which aims to unite in the bonds of brotherhood the peoples of the world. Here, too, there was among the people that integrity of conscience, that tenacity of purpose, that optimistic hope, which were needed in the nineteenth century to carry the peace cause through a period of distracting wars.

Here today are six State peace societies, having on their official boards representative citizens, many of whom are known throughout the United States. Five of these societies, which are new, are successors of associations that were formed nearly a century ago, but were absorbed by the National Peace Society, which brought many local organizations into a single institution. One of these only, the Rhode Island Peace

Society, organized 1818, has preserved its continuity without break from the very beginning. When the policy was adopted of organizing the American Peace Society by States in 1908, Connecticut was also organized, but Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont were each soon represented by a State peace society. These societies are now organized in the Department of New England, and this department has the largest constituency of paid members of any in the national society.

Besides the important part taken in the movement for international arbitration by the peace advocates of New England, let us remember also the part that has been taken in international affairs by our public men. From New England have been appointed great Secretaries of State—John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster, for example. From New England there have been sent to foreign capitals distinguished ministers and ambassadors. Edward Everett, George Bancroft, Charles Francis Adams, John Lothrop Motley, Anson Burlingame, and James Russell Lowell may be numbered among these. From New England have been chosen jurists who, either as agents, counsel, or arbitrators, have participated in nearly every arbitration from the time of the Jay Treaty to the last case of the United States at The Hague. These facts should furnish us with confidence in our cause and guidance to success of a most practical kind.

Let us see what are the facilities for helping forward the cause in our field as it is today. Here in Boston besides the headquarters of the New England Department of the American Peace Society we have the headquarters of the World Peace Foundation. This has an extensive literature, a board of lecturers, and an organizer already at work. Although the scope of the Foundation is world wide, it is in a position as an institution, having its central office here, to render great service in New England. Here we have the American School Peace League, which has already organized the teachers of the United States through State branches, and, like the World Peace Foundation, is making its influence felt abroad. Of this strong educational arm of our work we should avail ourselves to the utmost in the peace movement of New England.

Clark University, at Worcester, by means of its annual conferences on races and international conditions, is creating a literature and a spirit that are making for an understanding among the nations that will be of great value in the conciliation of the peoples of the world. But we have more than twenty other colleges and universities, with their professional schools, the students of which are all the time taking a deeper interest in international subjects, new courses in which are being offered by their faculties. From all these institutions we ought to recruit writers, lecturers, and scientific experts in international relations and government who should be a help to our cause.

We have in New England unusual press facilities for the spreading of information among the people. Not only have we newspapers which circulate from a metropolitan center all over New England, but we have local newspapers with long-established influence, and when we are making history of real public interest there is the Associated Press.

*Address to the officers of the New England Peace Societies at their conference in Boston, January 30, 1914.